

Message Text

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ACTION IO-13

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L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

COME-00 EB-07 LAB-04 SIL-01 OIC-02 IOE-00 /081 W

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P R 141210Z JAN 77

FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4797

INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

AMEMBASSY ACCRA

AMEMBASSY DAKAR

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY FREETOWN

AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

USMISSION GENEVA

USUN NEW YORK 1158

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LUSAKA 0103

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: ELAB,HILO, AF

SUBJ: HOROWITZ VISIT: GRZ MINISTRY OF LABOR FAVORS PROPOSALS

ON ACTION NEEDED TO KEEP U.S. PRESENCE IN ILO

REF: (A) STATE 294250, (B) LUSAKA 0104

SUMMARY: GRZ MINISTRY OF LABOR TAKES SERIOUSLY THE POSSIBILITY OF A US WITHDRAWAL FROM THE ILO AND APPEARS WILLING TO PUSH FOR CORRECTIVE ACTIONS WHICH WOULD PERMIT THE US TO REMAIN IN THE ILO. MINISTER OF STATE FOR LABOR ASSURED U.S. ILO REP HOROWITZ THAT GRZ WOULD SUPPORT THE FUNCTIONING OF THE ILO IN ACCORDANCE WITH ITS CONSTITUTION PROVIDING EQUAL TREATMENT FOR
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ALL MEMBERS. THIS WOULD INCLUDE OPPOSITION TO SELECTIVE APPLICATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS CONVENTIONS AND CONDEMNATION WITHOUT INVESTIGATION. FURTHER, THE MINISTRY WOULD SUPPORT PROPOSALS DESIGNED TO PROVIDE A MECHANISM FOR DECIDING IF RESOLUTIONS WERE IN FACT DIRECTLY RELEVANT TO THE WORK OF THE ILO. IT BECAME CLEAR THAT MINISTRY OF LABOR WAS COMMITTED TO THE PROPOSED RESTRUCTURING OF THE ILO GOVERNING BODY TO ELIMINATE PERMANENT SEATS. HOWEVER, MINISTRY

WAS PREPARED TO SEE THIS AS A LONG-TERM OBJECTIVE AND NOT SOMETHING WHICH WOULD BE UNDERTAKEN BY THE GRZ IN A CONTEXT OF CONFRONTATION. MINISTRY OF LABOR SUPPORT FOR US POSITION COULD BE WEAKENED BY MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS CONSIDERATIONS, OR BY THIRD WORLD PRESSURES IN THE ILO. END SUMMARY

1. MR. HOROWITZ MET WITH MINISTRY OF LABOR OFFICIALS ON JAN 12 AND 13. MINISTER OF STATE FOR LABOR AND SOCIAL SERVICES, JOSEPH MWEMBA HEADED THE SIX-MAN LABOR MINISTRY GROUP. IN REPLY TO HOROWITZ'S PRESENTATION OF US CONCERNS REGARDING TENDENCIES WHICH WERE DESTROYING THE PRINCIPLES OF THE ILO, THE MINISTER OF STATE OBSERVED THAT THE US, BECAUSE OF ITS POSITION IN THE WORLD, SHOULD NOT EXCLUDE ITSELF FROM THE ILO. IF THE US LEFT, THEN HE FEARED OTHER NATO NATIONS WOULD WITHDRAW. EVEN IF THEY DID NOT THE ABSENCE OF US INFLUENCE IN THE ILO WOULD CHANGE ITS BASIC CHARACTER. "CERTAIN ELEMENTS" WOULD BE ABLE TO ADVANCE THEIR POSITION IN THE ILO, AND THIS WOULD NOT BE IN THE INTEREST OF THE DEVELOPING WORLD. MWEBE OBSERVED THAT, SINCE THE MATTER WAS SUCH A BASIC ONE, CAREFUL CONSIDERATION SHOULD BE GIVEN TO THE US PROPOSALS TO CORRECT THE OBJECTIONABLE TENDENCIES IN THE ORGANIZATION.

2. HOROWITZ NOTED THAT THE ILO'S CHARACTER IS ALREADY CHANGING. IF A MAJORITY OF THE MEMBERS OF THE ORGANIZATION SUPPORT THESE CHANGES, THE US, RELUCTANTLY, MUST CONCLUDE THAT IT NO LONGER CARES TO PARTICIPATE. ACTING PERMANENT SECRETARY, SKETCHLEY SACIKA, THEN OBSERVED THAT THE ILO SHOULD FUNCTION IN ACCORDANCE WITH ITS CONSTITUTION UNTIL IT IS CHANGED. HE EXPRESSED THE BELIEF THAT CERTAIN CLAUSES OF THE CONSTITUTION MAY HAVE OUTLIVED

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THEIR USEFULNESS AND TRIPARTISM, FOR EXAMPLE, SHOULD BE REEXAMINED. SACIKA THEN WENT ON TO THE SECOND OF MR. HOROWITZ'S CONCERNS OVER THE APPLICATION OF DOUBLE STANDARDS ON QUESTIONS ARISING FROM HUMAN RIGHTS CONVENTIONS. SACIKA SAID THAT NO COUNTRY SHOULD BE IMMUNE FROM INVESTIGATION AND COUNTRIES THAT VOLUNTARILY RATIFY CONVENTIONS SHOULD BE EXPECTED TO LIVE UP TO THEM.

3. THE MEETING WITH GRZ OFFICIALS THEN BROKE UP WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THE ISSUES WOULD BE EXPLORED IN MORE DETAIL AT A MEETING JAN 13. AT THE SECOND MEETING, IN REPLY TO THE MINISTER OF STATE'S QUERY AS TO WHAT THE US PROPOSED TO CORRECT UNSATISFACTORY TRENDS IN THE ILO, HOROWITZ OBSERVED THAT THE SITUATION DID NOT CALL FOR SPECIFIC ACTION ALONE BUT FOR A DEMONSTRATION THAT THE RULES OF THE ORGANIZATION ARE BEING FOLLOWED. IN THIS REGARD, THE US IS WATCHING THE ACTIONS OF THE GOVERNING BODY AND CONFERENCES AS INDICATIONS OF THE MEMBERS' DESIRES. AT THE SAME TIME, THE US IS MAKING AN ASSESSMENT OF WHAT THE LONGER TERM INTENTION OF THE MEMBERS IS TOWARDS THE UNHELPFUL TENDENCIES. THERE ARE TWO SPECIFIC MATTERS WHICH WILL

COME BEFORE THE GOVERNING BODY FEBRUARY/MARCH MEETING. THESE ARE THE DISPOSITION OF THE 1974 RESOLUTION CONDEMNING ISRAEL FOR LABOR PRACTICES IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND CONSIDERATION OF REVISION OF ARTICLE 17 OF THE STANDING ORDERS TO ESTABLISH TWO CATEGORIES OF RESOLUTIONS, RECEIVABLE AND NON-RECEIVABLE.

4. MINISTER OF STATE MWEMBA OBSERVED THAT ACTION ON THE REVISION OF THE STANDING ORDERS APPEARED TO BE A GOOD STARTING POINT TO ALLEVIATE US CONCERNS. ACTING PERMANENT SECRETARY SACIKA, SAID THAT THE GRZ WAS AGAINST RESOLUTIONS OF CONDEMNATIONS WITHOUT INVESTIGATION. SINCE MEMBER STATES HAD VOLUNTARILY RATIFIED THE CONVENTIONS THEY SHOULD ALL BE SUBJECT TO EQUAL TREATMENT ON THE BASIS OF THE FINDINGS OF THE EXPERT COMMITTEE. SACIKA SAID ZAMBIA AND HE PERSONALLY DID NOT FEEL COMFORTABLE WITH THE PRACTICE OF SELECTIVE CONDEMNATION, WHICH IMPOST A DOUBLE STANDARD ON THE ILO PROCEDURES BECAUSE OF THE MORAL ISSUE INVOLVED. SACIKA ALSO NOTED ZAMBIAN AWARENESS THAT, WHILE ISRAEL

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AND CHILE WERE THE EXAMPLES CURRENTLY AT HAND FOR CONDEMNATION WITHOUT INVESTIGATION, OTHER COUNTRIES COULD ALSO FIND THEMSELVES OBJECTS OF SUCH TREATMENT. THE NORMAL INVESTIGATING MACHINERY FOR COMPLAINTS IS WHAT MUST BE USED. REGARDING NON-RECEIVABLE RESOLUTIONS, SACIKA SAID THAT, IF THE ILO ADOPTS RULES IN THIS

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REGARD, IT SHOULD STICK WITH THEM. SPEAKING PERSONALLY, HE WAS IN FAVOR OF KEEPING INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ISSUES NOT RELEVANT TO THE ILO OUT OF THE ILO. SACIKA NOTED THAT EVEN FAVORABLE ACTION ON REVISION OF THE STANDING ORDER 17 WOULD NOT NECESSARILY END POLITICAL DEBATE. SOME POLITICAL ISSUES HAVE LABOR ASPECTS WHICH MAKE THEM PROPER SUBJECTS FOR THE ILO. HOROWITZ ACKNOWLEDGED THIS POINT AND SAID THE US IS NOT OPPOSED TO FULL CONSIDERATION OF MATTERS PROPERLY WITHIN THE JURISDICTION OF THE ILO.

5. BEFORE LEAVING THE MEETING THE MINISTER OF STATE SAID THAT THE GRZ WILL FIND NO DIFFICULTY IN SUPPORTING THE VIEW THAT ALL MEMBERS OF THE ILO SHOULD ABIDE BY ITS ESTABLISHED PROCEDURES AND THAT THE ADOPTION OF NON-RECEIVABILITY RULES SHOULD CONFIDENTIAL

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STRENGTHEN THE ORGANIZATION BY ENABLING IT TO MAINTAIN ITS FOCUS ON RELEVANT MATTERS. BY THE TIME THE ZAMBIAN DELEGATION GOES TO GENEVA, HE SAID, FURTHER THOUGHT WILL HAVE BEEN GIVEN TO THE CONSIDERATIONS RAISED BY HOROWITZ, BUT HE EXPECTED THAT ZAMBIA WOULD SUPPORT MEASURES DESIGNED TO INSURE THAT THE ILO FUNCTIONED ACCORDING TO ITS RULES. MWEBE CAUTIONED THAT ZAMBIAN DELEGATIONS IN THE FUTURE SHOULD BE A BIT MORE ANALYTICAL IN EXAMINING PROPOSED RESOLUTIONS TO INSURE THAT THEY ARE NOT PURELY POLITICAL OR VIOLATE PROCEDURES.

6. HOROWITZ THEN MENTIONED THAT, IN ADDITION, THE US WOULD BE WATCHING THE CONDUCT OF NORMAL BUSINESS IN THE GENERAL CONFERENCE HE HOPED THAT THE AFRICAN REGION IN ITS SELECTION OF A GENERAL CONFERENCE PRESIDENT WILL BEAR IN MIND THE IMPACT THIS SELECTION WILL HAVE ON THE FUNCTIONING OF THE CONFERENCE.

7. THE MEETING CONCLUDED WITH A GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE STRUCTURE OF THE ILO. SACIKA INDICATED THAT ZAMBIA SUPPORTED THE AFRICAN POSITION DESIGNED TO MAKE THE GOVERNING BODY ALL ELECTIVE, DOING AWAY WITH PERMANENT SEATS. ZAMBIA BELIEVES THIS WOULD BE MORE DEMOCRATIC AND MAKE POSSIBLE A BETTER ACCOMMODATION OF THE ASPIRATIONS OF REGIONAL GROUPS. TO THIS HOROWITZ POINTED OUT THAT FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE THE US WAS OPPOSED TO CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES IN THE ILO AS THEY MIGHT AFFECT THE COMPOSITION OF THE GOVERNING BODY, BUT THAT THIS DID NOT

NECESSARILY HOLD FOR ALL TIME. ACKNOWLEDGING THE DIFFERENCE IN VIEWS, SACIKA NOTED THAT CHANGES IN THE COMPOSITION WOULD NOT COME ABOUT IN THE NEAR FUTURE. THERE SHOULD BE DIALOGUE AND DISCUSSION ON SUCH A FUNDAMENTAL MATTER. AT THE CLOSE OF THE MEETING, HOROWITZ POINTED OUT THAT HE HOPED AN ATMOSPHERE OF CONFRONTATION ON THE STRUCTURE ISSUE COULD BE AVOIDED, MAKING CLEAR THAT SUCH A CONFRONTATION IN THE JUNE GENERAL CONFERENCE WOULD HAVE AN IMPACT ON THE US DECISION REGARDING WITHDRAWAL. SACIKA AGREED THAT CONFRONTATION SHOULD BE AVOIDED IN FAVOR OF A MEASURED, REASONED APPROACH AND THAT THERE SHOULD NOT BE ANY EXPECTATION AT THE JUNE CONFERENCE THAT SOLUTIONS ON THE STRUCTURE

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ISSUE CAN BE FOUND.

COMMENT: THROUGHOUT THE TWO MEETINGS IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE MINISTRY OF LABOR IS GRAVELY CONCERNED ABOUT THE POSSIBLE US PULL-OUT FROM THE ILO. IN LIGHT OF THIS CONCERN, THE MINISTRY GAVE CLEAR INDICATION OF ITS WILLINGNESS TO HELP CORRECT TENDENCIES WHICH THE US FINDS UNFORTUNATE. HOWEVER, WE WOULD HESITATE TO PREDICT THAT THIS WILLINGNESS WILL IN FACT BE TRANSLATED INTO EFFECTIVE ACTION. FIRST THE MINISTRY OF LABOR'S POSITIVE APPROACH MAY BE MODIFIED SOMEWHAT BY THE GRZ MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (SEE REFTTEL B). SECOND, THE ZAMBIAN DELEGATES MAY WAIVER ONCE THEY ARE OPERATING UNDER THE PRESSURE OF THEIR MORE RADICAL THIRD-WORLD PEERS. ANOTHER FACTOR WILL BE THE ROLE PLAYED BY MINISTER OF LABOR BANDA WHO OF COURSE WAS NOT PRESENT. THE EMBASSY INTENDS TO REVIEW THE ENTIRE DISCUSSION WITH BANDA ON HIS RETURN NOT ONLY TO GET HIS COMMENTS BUT TO REINFORCE POINTS MADE BY HOROWITZ. LOW

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Message Attributes

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